

Foreign Affairs Note



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~~COMMUNIST CLANDESTINE BROADCASTING~~

December 1982

Clandestine radio broadcasting is broadcasting in the language of the target audience from a station which does not admit to the origin of transmission or which attempts to mislead listeners about the origin. Such broadcasting has been used for decades by the U.S.S.R. and, at Moscow's behest, by some of its allies as a propaganda medium. For example, one long-time clandestine station, *Radio Espana Independiente* (Radio of Independent Spain) controlled by the then-exiled Spanish Communist Party, in June 1941 began broadcasting anti-Franco Spanish-language programs from Soviet territory to Spain, just as the Nazis invaded the U.S.S.R. The radio was relocated to Romania in the mid-1950s and in 1967 added a Hungarian transmitter; it disappeared from the air with Franco's death in 1975. In the early 1970s, at least 10 clandestine radios were broadcasting to Western Europe and the Near East from Soviet and East European territory. Seven later closed down, in most instances because political changes in the target countries resulted in the legalization of underground domestic Communist parties and made the radios redundant.

Today, two clandestine stations broadcast from Soviet territory: *Radio Ba Yi*, established in early 1979, beams Mandarin-language programs to China; the *National Voice of Iran*, established in 1959, broadcasts in Persian to Iran. East Germany provides facilities for two Turkish-language stations, *Our Radio* and the *Voice of the Turkish Communist Party*, established in 1958 and 1968, respectively.

Radio Ba Yi

First monitored in early 1979, *Radio Ba Yi* purports to speak for the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The station takes its name from the Chinese words "Eight One," or August First, the traditional date of the founding of the Chinese Red Army in 1927. In contrast to official Soviet broadcasts to China, such as *Radio Moscow's* Mandarin-language programs or those of the semi-official *Radio Peace and Progress*, *Radio Ba Yi* claims to reflect the perspective of "our army" or "our country's representatives" and strives to identify with the Chinese cadre point of view.

The radio has never acknowledged a sponsor, Soviet or Chinese, and the Soviet media have conspicuously ignored it. Nevertheless, *Radio Ba Yi's* Soviet sponsorship is clear. Technical observations indicate that the transmitter is located in the Soviet Far East. Moreover, while *Radio Ba Yi* has its own style, the views expressed always are complementary to, if not identical with, established Soviet positions. Its broadcasts began at a sensitive time in Sino-Soviet relations—in the wake of China's attack on Vietnam and just before Beijing's long-expected announcement on April 3, 1979, that it would terminate the 1950 Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. Its establishment also coincided with the period of U.S.-Chinese political

rapprochement, which Moscow regarded with suspicion.

Radio Ba Yi devotes much attention to "bread and butter" issues of cadre policy, especially to Beijing's efforts to retire less productive cadre and to transfer others. The propaganda line plays on older cadre's fears of changes that threaten reductions in their economic and political influence and, especially, of changes that portend a loss of their position in society. By developing the cadre policy theme, *Radio Ba Yi* apparently hopes to heighten dissatisfaction with policies associated with Deng Xiaoping.

Radio Ba Yi's commentaries have condemned Deng for usurping power, violating the principles of collective leadership, damaging the army by transferring military leaders for his own selfish ends, and selling out China's national interests to the United States and Japan. (Other Chinese leaders also have been the subject of sharp, but less frequent, criticism.) For example, a January 14, 1980, commentary following U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown's visit to China declared that Sino-U.S. relations had embarked on a path that encroached on Chinese sovereignty, damaged national pride, and threatened national security. It accused Deng of deciding "all by himself" to allow the United States to install and operate, with U.S. intelligence personnel, an electronic "spy network" that would allow the United States to collect "secret intelligence" on China's economy and national defense. The people who agreed to such demands, the commentary concluded, if they did not deliberately wish to turn China into a U.S. military base, were "suffering from senile decay."

Radio Ba Yi declines to provide detailed commentary on the U.S.S.R. but has, on occasion, advocated improved Sino-Soviet relations and greater receptivity to Soviet initiatives. Reporting on the Sino-Soviet talks of the previous fall, a January 9, 1980, commentary emphasized that Soviet suggestions for restoring relations "to the level of the early 1950s" were worthy of consideration: If "the few central leaders" opposing improved relations take into account China's long-term interests, "the deadlock in Sino-Soviet negotiations can be broken." An August 1, 1980, broadcast made a similar point: Certain people in authority, it suggested, ought to seriously examine Chinese foreign policy, which has turned armies that once fought shoulder to shoulder with us into our enemies.

On other foreign policy issues, *Radio Ba Yi* has criticized the leadership's "betrayal" of China's interest in Taiwan, warned against its alleged encouragement of Japanese militarism, and derided Chinese policy in South and Southeast Asia. Despite the impact of Moscow's invasion of Afghanistan on Sino-Soviet relations, *Radio Ba Yi* has given little attention to Chinese policy reactions.

Criticism is the only consistent element in *Radio Ba Yi's* diverse commentary on the Chinese domestic scene. The

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lack of political democracy, poor management of the economy, the leadership's alleged worship of Western and Japanese lifestyles, and errors in handling government-army and army-civilian relations are regularly denounced.

Following the mid-September 1982 moratorium on Soviet propaganda attacks on China and the announcement of Sino-Soviet talks in Beijing, *Radio Ba Yi* has continued to criticize Chinese policies but has avoided condemning leaders by name. The radio's failure to halt attacks against China is consistent with the past practice of avoiding the appearance of close coordination with official Soviet media. Nevertheless, it continues to make Deng Xiaoping a primary target of criticism.

National Voice of Iran

Like *Radio Ba Yi*, the *National Voice of Iran* (NVOI) is a clandestine station, broadcasting from Baku, U.S.S.R., in Persian and Azeri to Iran. NVOI presents itself as Iranian, speaking as the voice of "our" people and "our" country and frequently praising the attitude of "our friendly northern neighbor," the Soviet Union. Until recently, it had not been known to identify with any Iranian organization, such as the illegal Communist Tudeh Party, although there were instances (1966-70) when the radio mentioned Tudeh Party leaders or incidents such as arrests of Tudeh members, just as from time to time it had protested the Shah's "illegal acts" against religious leaders.

NVOI themes have remained basically the same over the years. Immediately after its inception in 1959, NVOI began waging a propaganda campaign against the Shah personally, assailing his policies and his morals. In 1963, NVOI urged participation in the Shah's January referendum on various reform issues and temporarily modified its previous hard line. The new restraint was in keeping with Moscow's generally friendlier attitude toward Iran since September 1962, when the U.S.S.R. accepted the Shah's unilateral declaration not to allow foreign missile bases in Iran.

NVOI's criticism of the Shah subsequently reappeared. Broadcasts in the late 1960s contained occasional calls for his overthrow and accused the Shah of violating not only the constitution but also the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. Themes in this period included demands for expulsion of U.S. military advisers and for Iran's withdrawal from the Central Treaty Organization, calls for a neutral foreign policy; denunciations of "plunder" of Iranian resources by foreign oil companies and damage to the economy through the unequal trade practices of Western "imperialist" countries; criticism of health, education, land reform, agricultural, and industrial policies and of lack of press freedom.

In recent years, NVOI has played a dual role, defending Soviet policies while posing as the voice of the Iranian people. The radio diverged from official Soviet media as the Shah's position deteriorated in the fall of 1978; it urged his overthrow while Moscow for months did not even acknowledge that the Shah was the target of the disorders.

Soviet policy divergence also was evident during the detention of the American hostages in Tehran. In the immediate aftermath of the seizure of the hostages on November 4, 1979, NVOI supported the takeover of the U.S. Embassy by "struggling and enthusiastic young people" while counseling restraint in the treatment of the hostages. NVOI on November 5 asserted that the U.S. Government "does not cease in practice from hatching plots against Iran" but cautioned that the "young people of our homeland" possessed "enough political and revolutionary awareness not to resort to certain measures against the employees of the U.S. Embassy."

At the same time, official Soviet media were extremely cautious and with the exception of *Radio Moscow's* Persian-language service (which called the Embassy seizure "understandable") refrained from any original comment on or independent assessment of the crisis. *Pravda*, for example, noted as late as November 18 that "commentators in the West" were not venturing to predict the future course of events in Tehran. Moscow's official reticence was noted in Foreign Minister Gromyko's refusal to do more than express hope that the situation would be "resolved positively" in response to a query in Madrid on November 21. And on December 5, an authoritative article in *Pravda* asserted that "unquestionably, the seizure of the U.S. Embassy by itself is not in conformity with the international convention on respect for diplomatic privileges and immunity."

U.S. Government protests to Soviet officials in mid-November prompted Moscow to clamp down on NVOI, as well as on *Radio Moscow's* Persian service. In a dramatic turnabout, NVOI on November 20 welcomed the freeing of some of the hostages and said it was "imperative" that those still held be released.

Currently, NVOI is increasingly critical of the suppression of the Communist Tudeh Party and other Iranian leftists—subjects generally avoided by the official Soviet media. The radio continues its attacks on "world-devouring America" but also regularly chides Iranian media and unnamed Iranian officials for what it depicts as irrational attacks on the Soviet Union. Although continuing to profess support for Ayatollah Khomeini, NVOI has intimated disaffection with the regime's conduct.

- Commentary on Iranian internal developments, which in the past focused chiefly on the allegedly "pro-American" stance of Tehran "liberals" and addressed the regime's excesses in general terms, has become more specific as the repression of leftists and Iranian criticism of Soviet policy continued. In late 1981, the radio called for a halt to summary executions of leftists not implicated in the assassinations and bombings then sweeping the country. More recently, NVOI complained that the harsh treatment of "innocent" Iranian prisoners with "divergent views" violated Islamic standards and the Islamic Republic's constitution. In addition, the radio has stressed the need for fundamental domestic reforms (including freedom of speech and the press), called for an end to the violation of women's rights, and criticized purges from governmental and educational institutions of individuals who "sincerely defend . . . the imam's line."

- NVOI has been indignant over continuing Iranian outbursts against the U.S.S.R. and Tehran's equation of Eastern and Western superpowers. It even attempted to portray Ayatollah Khomeini as rejecting Iran's "neither East nor West" slogan. Iran's mass media are criticized for their daily "accusations and insults" against the Soviet Union, with the implication that such treatment benefits only the United States. Earlier this year, NVOI attacked the producers of a Tehran television program for referring to the "so-called superpowers" and to the "so-called Russians" and for charging that "all crimes . . . are committed by the Soviet Union." The radio also has criticized anti-Soviet slogans and posters appearing in Tehran while urging closer cooperation and friendship between Iran and the "friendly" Socialist countries.

- On foreign policy matters, NVOI uses every possible occasion to warn its listeners that Iran's main enemy remains the United States and to caution against ties to "springboards of imperialist aggression," such as Pakistan and Turkey. NVOI has consistently assailed Iran's policy toward the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan as "unrealistic"

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and in "precisely the direction desired by the foes of the Iranian revolution." In another departure from the official Soviet position, in April 1982 NVOI shifted from an initially neutral stance on the Iran-Iraq war and came out in support of Iran's terms for ending the conflict, declaring that Baghdad's "only way out" was to accept those conditions.

East European Efforts

Over the years, various East European countries have made available broadcasting facilities to a number of Western Communist movements. Usually the listeners were not informed that the programs originated outside the target country. As early as 1950, the Italian-language *Oggi Italia* (Today in Italy) began broadcasting the views of the Italian Communist Party (CPI) from Prague. CPI-prepared programs, including speeches of CPI leaders, subsequently were aired over several East European transmitters—Hungarian, Polish, and Romanian—until the station ceased operation in 1971. Other East European-based stations have included:

- *Deutscher Freiheitssender Neun Hundert Vier* (German Freedom Station 904), broadcasting from East Germany in German, Greek, Spanish, Turkish, and Italian to foreign workers in West Germany. The station operated from 1956 until 1972; its programming reflected the views of the West German Communist Party.

- *Radio Peyke-e Iran* (Radio Iran Courier), the voice of the outlawed Tudeh Party, broadcast in Persian to Iran from transmitters located first in East Germany and then Bulgaria, 1957-76.

- *Radiofonikos Stathmos i Foni tis Alithias* (Voice of Truth), the mouthpiece of the formerly exiled Greek Communist Party, broadcast in Greek to Greece and Cyprus from transmitters in East Germany, 1958-75.

- *Deutscher Soldatensender* (German Soldiers' Station), a Germany-language propaganda station in East Germany aimed at West German military personnel, 1960-72.

- *Radio Portugal Livre* (Radio Free Portugal), the voice of the exiled Portuguese Communist Party, broadcast from three transmitters believed to have been located in Romania, 1962-74.

- *La Voce degli operai italiani emigrate alestero* (Voice of the Italian Emigre Workers), aimed at Italian workers in West Germany, broadcast from East Germany, 1971-78.

At the present time, the only clandestine stations still operating from Eastern Europe are two that broadcast in Turkish. Technical observations indicate that both use facilities in Magdeburg, East Germany. *Bizim Radyo* (Our Radio) was established in 1958, one year after clandestine broadcasts to Greece and Iran were initiated; the *Voice of the Turkish Communist Party* (VOTCP) was inaugurated in 1968 with broadcasts to Turkish emigrant workers in West Germany and began broadcasting to Turkey itself in late 1974.

These radios generally have followed the Soviet line in commenting on Turkish foreign policy, emphasizing themes designed to discredit the United States, NATO, and the West on a wide range of issues.

- On Turkish-U.S. relations, the radios have warned Turkey to rid itself of American and NATO influences which

they charge deprive it of national independence, undermine its economy, and threaten its national security. Clandestine broadcasts have continuously sought to engender opposition to U.S. military bases in Turkey by appealing to Turkish national pride. Terming the dismantling of the bases as a "priority task" of the Turkish people, the broadcasts depict the U.S. military presence in Turkey as aimed "first and foremost" against Turkey's national independence as well as against the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries.

- Concurrently, the broadcasts have consistently promoted closer Turkish-Soviet cooperation, arguing that this would free Ankara from dependence on the West—said to be the cause of Turkey's political, social, and economic problems—and contribute to the Turkish people's "struggle for national and social liberation."

- On the Cyprus issue, the radios adhere to the Soviet position on a settlement, i.e., Moscow's call for a "representative" conference to discuss international guarantees of Cyprus' independence as well as the dismantling of military bases and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. At the same time, the radios go further than Moscow, notably in their open criticism of Turkey for the stalemated situation.

The clandestine radios are even more vitriolic in their attacks on Turkish domestic politics. Before the September 12, 1980, military takeover in Ankara, VOTCP and *Our Radio* had been unremitting in their hostility toward Turkey's civilian governments, particularly those led by the "reactionary and fascist" Justice Party (JP). Both radios broadcast calls for insurgency, acts of terrorism, and the overthrow of JP-led coalitions. By contrast, the two stations were ambivalent in their attitude toward the Republican People's Party (RPP). The radios distinguished between RPP's leftwing and centrist factions—between rank-and-file and the administration—and constantly upheld the leftwing's struggle against "imperialism and fascism."

Official Soviet reaction immediately following the September 12, 1980, military intervention was sparse and circumspect. Indeed, Moscow appeared to welcome the prospect that the Evren regime would restore a measure of stability to a country that official Soviet media had been describing as on the verge of civil war. (The Soviet Union was similarly circumspect following the 1971 military action in Turkey.) Official East German commentary on September 12, 1980, also portrayed the takeover as ending 5 years of "terror and mass misery" while avoiding direct criticism of the Evren regime.

Coverage of the takeover by VOTCP and *Our Radio*, however, contrasted sharply with that of official Communist media. Both clandestine stations promptly denounced the military intervention and called for unity of domestic forces in opposition to the "pro-American junta." A Turkish Communist Party statement broadcast the day after the coup urged all patriotic elements, including soldiers and "anti-American religious masses," to resist the new regime. This and other commentary contended that the takeover was inspired by the United States. Vehement criticism of the Evren regime as well as the radios' traditional attacks on Ankara's ties with Washington and NATO have continued steadily since September 1980, while official Communist media have been considerably more cautious in their treatment of the military government.

REPRESENTATIVE EXCERPTS FROM SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN CLANDESTINE RADIO BROADCASTS

Radio Ba Yi in Mandarin to China, May 2, 1982

In the past few months, facts have proved that the principle of reorganizing the cadre contingent, insisted on by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, is incorrect. This principle of consolidating the party and reorganizing the cadre contingent has not only damaged the situation of stability and unity which had emerged, but also dampened the enthusiasm of the broad masses of cadres in carrying out their work. What is worse is that many cadres, who are not veteran senior cadres, have openly expressed their lack of confidence in the party Central Committee. In past years, many cadres worked assiduously and conscientiously without giving a thought to personal gain. However, they have now gone so far as to study the "science of relationship." They have become anxious about making job arrangements for their own children and preparations for their own retirement. This is partly due to the wrong workstyle of these cadres. But on the other hand, isn't it the typical realistic attitude held by cadres towards the party Central Committee and leading comrades of the central authorities? Many veteran cadres, in particular, have become more and more dissatisfied with individual leaders of the central authorities.

... It may well be asked, what is the difference between this cadre policy and the cadre policy of the "gang of four" of appointing only those who were close to them but spreading slanderous rumors about, and even attacking or discriminating against, those cadres who oppose them?

Under such circumstances, how can cadres be asked to have confidence in the cadre policy currently implemented by the party Central Committee? And how can they be asked to have confidence in individual leading comrades of the central authorities?

Radio Ba Yi in Mandarin to China, November 1, 1982

The slogan of achieving stability and unity has been explicitly put forward since as early as the resolution of the 3d Plenary Ses-

sion of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The resolution pointed out the decision to launch no political movement or seize on others' faults, put labels on people or use the big stick. However, some persons, proceeding from personal interest, are continuing to use despicable means to harm others. Particularly since the end of the 12th CPC National Congress, some central leaders have again begun to transfer army leaders and purge army cadres. Moreover, they again treat army cadres with the tricks of those political movements, such as labeling people and using the big stick. They even use various excuses to remove army cadres from military command. What upsets the army cadres the most is that they are wantonly accused of being so-called remnants of the Lin Biao clique.

Some persons even said threateningly: The remnants of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique still exist. They hold certain leading posts, oppose the party's correct line and boycott the central authorities' correct decisions. We must wage resolute struggles against them.

Radio Ba Yi in Mandarin to China, November 4, 1982

By relying on the People's Army, the CPC eventually founded New China after prolonged armed struggle. After the establishment of the PRC, large numbers of the army's backbone forces were sent to the localities for reconstruction work. They have played an important role in the construction of New China. We can say that the army is second to none in contributing to the founding and construction of New China.

However, over the past 30 years and more, many heroes and outstanding generals have been killed because of suspicion and jealousy. This reminds us of the ruthless first emperors of the Song and Ming Dynasties. Their persecution of leading military leaders was appalling. High-ranking cadres such as Comrades Rao Shushi, Peng Dehuai and Huang Kecheng were brutally persecuted. Every few years, large numbers of marshals, ministers of national defense and leaders of the various departments of the armed services have been removed and replaced. Instead of improving, the situation actually worsened after the smashing of the gang of four.

NVOI in Persian to Iran, January 16, 1982

Both during and after the days of the revolution, these people rightly exerted all their might toward exposing the plots of the United States and drew the attention of the Islamic government toward this end. So far all the newspapers and publications and the speeches by government figures and officials in our country are full of figures, statistics, evidence and documents indicating the multifarious economic, political and military plots of world-devouring America and its allies against revolutionary Iran. Everywhere these people, these millions-strong masses, hear and read that every day and minute the United States designs and implements a plan to overthrow the system of the Islamic Republic, to trample upon our nation's revolutionary gains, and to bring to power a system flavored by plundering Western monopolies. It is for this reason that at every gathering, march, assembly and meeting these people voice the slogan of "Death to America" with all their being. However, these millions-strong masses have the right to be amazed and concerned when now and then not only the liberals and the counterrevolutionaries and not only the pseudoclergy, but even some of the officials and authorities—either due to being misled or due to mental prejudice and the intimations of the imperialist mass media, or from fear of the accusations of the foes of the revolution—along with the main, primary and factual slogan of "Death to America," strive to impose on society the slogan "Death to the Soviet Union" without presenting any proof, evidence or documentation.

Since when has declaring war on the world and insulting everybody inopportunistically, illogically and without any reason and grounds been proof of independence and neutrality? These people have witnessed through experience and life that while the United States—whether on the eve of the revolution or during almost 3 years of the post-revolution period—has hatched and continues to hatch a plot every hour against revolutionary Iran, the Soviet Government has in contrast supported our nation's revolution from the very outset of the peak of the revolutionary struggles until the present. No one can show a single example refuting this claim even by resorting to sophistry.

BROADCAST TIME AND FREQUENCIES

Radio Ba Yi

Broadcast Time: Irregular—a *Radio Ba Yi* broadcast typically includes a brief 4–8 minute transmission on the hour and half hour sometime between 1200 GMT (2000 and 2340 Beijing time).

Frequency Usage: 12120 KHz

NVOI

Broadcast Time: 1730—1815 and 1930—2000 GMT

Frequency Usage: 6025 and 5915 KHz

VOTCP

Broadcast Time: 0400—0450, 0600—0650, 0800—0850, 1000—1050, 1200—1250, 1400—1450, 1600—1650, 1800—1850, 2000—2050, 2200—2250 GMT

Frequency Usage: 9585 and 6200 KHz

Our Radio

Broadcast Time: 0300—0350, 0500—0550, 0500—0530, 0700—0750, 0900—0950, 1015—1045, 1100—1150, 1300—1350, 1445—1515, 1500—1550, 1700—1750, 1740—1810, 1900—1950, 2000—2030, 2030—2100, 2100—2150 GMT

Frequency Usage: 11820, 9585, 9500, 6200 KHz

**NVOI in Persian to Iran,
February 6, 1982**

It said the struggles of our people against world-devouring America and its puppets in the region continued with the utmost intensity during the third year of the revolution. The compromising liberals and other dregs of the great Satan and the pseudo-Muslims continue to resort to various ruses and ploys to divert the struggles of our homeland's people against world-devouring America, including the ruse of putting forward the name of the Soviet Union, without presenting any proof and basis.

However, the imam of the nation foiled this attempt by the compromising liberals and other elements and mercenaries. The imam rightly said that the dregs of America have strived and continue to strive to negate America by raising the name of the Soviet Union. The imam has justly called America the main enemy of Iran, and his guideline was and continues to be that all should direct their cries against America.

**NVOI in Persian to Iran,
April 5, 1982**

We maintain that the danger of U.S. imperialism and the plots of its dregs is a serious danger. In order to carry out a bloody plot against revolutionary Iran, the United States is making use of all its elements, from the counterrevolution within and abroad to dependent regimes such as those in Turkey, Israel, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Oman and others. The Israeli Zionists do not conceal their aggressive plans against Iran, which are the same conspiratorial U.S. schemes.

On the other hand, America is engaged in preparing military operations and plots against revolutionary Iran from Turkey and Pakistan. It is a fact that some of the counterrevolutionary groups are stationed on Turkey's borders with Iran, without doubt with the agreement of Turkey and the United States.

Now, if some persons want to close their eyes and ears to this reality it is their own business. But we must come to the certain conclusion that America is preparing the implementation of a plot on various levels, including through Turkey and Pakistan. Under conditions in which the United States has mobilized all its potential to overthrow the Islamic Republic's system, lack of necessary attention toward this fact and the unleashing of a propaganda campaign against the true forces of the revolution cannot be attributed to anything but attempts to save America from blows. The danger of America's plots in the region is a serious danger, and one must confront this danger seriously and realistically.

**NVOI in Persian to Iran,
May 18, 1982**

Dear compatriots: Certain measures have been adopted by our country's Islamic government toward leading foreign policy in a correct anti-imperialist direction, and this has the endorsement of our homeland's people. However, the fact cannot be ignored that our country's official policy in some instances, for example with respect to the Afghan problem, is not only unrealistic, but is precisely in the direction desired by the foes of the Iranian revolution. For instance, when we pay attention to the reports about Afghanistan that are disseminated by the Voice of our Islamic Republic, regrettably we see that reports in this connection are the exact reports selected by Western news agencies and which are fed to the people as reliable news.

At a time when all observers in Afghanistan are witnessing the stabilization of the situation and the successes of the people of that country in connection with the construction of a new society, suddenly one hears from the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran reports fabricated by Western news media, for example about so-called clashes in the center of Kabul and similar cases. Naturally, this development cannot but arouse the concern of our homeland's people.

Indeed it is a matter for deliberation as to which factors have caused our Islamic Republic to pursue an anti-imperialist approach on the one hand and, in some instances, for example in the Afghan problem, to be in harmony with imperialist circles on the other hand.

**NVOI in Persian to Iran,
September 29, 1982**

It said every passing day our homeland's people are becoming aware more than ever of the harm resulting from the nonimplementation of the law in the country.

We know that the imam of the nation declared the year 1360 as the year of law, and requested everyone, particularly the responsible authorities, to observe the laws in our liberated country. However, unfortunately, there is still no sign of the implementation of the Constitution's principles in our country in the true sense of the word. This fact paves the way for the achievement of the satanic aims of the foes of the revolution, whether internal or external.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, approved by a decisive majority of the people, is one of the gains of the Iranian nation's revolution. Among the democratic freedoms stipulated in the Constitution for the Iranian people are the freedom of activity of parties and freedom of the press and so forth. But unfortunately, in practice, these freedoms are not observed. Many of the true revolutionary parties and organizations in the imam's and the revolution's popular and anti-imperialist line have actually been deprived of the right of free activity. Both in the capital and in other towns the offices of these organizations have been occupied by unauthorized individuals. Many truthful newspapers and periodicals have been banned and their offices are under the occupation of unauthorized elements.

**NVOI in Persian to Iran,
October 7, 1982**

Dear compatriots: The executors of America's treacherous policy within Iran are being brought before revolutionary courts, exposed and punished. After the execution of Sadeq Ootbzadeh, now some of his other associates also have been duly punished for their treacherous acts.

Such measures by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran against treacherous plotters, as well as the unshakable struggle of the nation, which up to now have thwarted and foiled the independence-destroying plan and plots of the great Satan one after the other, have increased the wrath and vengeance of this seven-headed dragon from whose mouth spouts the poison of bondage and slavery and fire of destruction, aggression and oppression.

... One of America's evil aims, pursued by its agents and followers and counterrevolutionary elements within Iran, is anti-Soviet propaganda, a hackneyed and inadmissible example that can be seen in some of our country's press as well.

We all know that after the overthrow of the shah's criminal regime, the Soviet Union was the first government to recognize the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. From a principled, neutral and impartial standpoint it defended the Iranian nation's national sovereignty and interests in the face of incessant threats posed by America against Iran. It condemned interference in Iran's internal affairs and explicitly declared that determining and defining the form of government and political organizations of every country including Iran, is the concern of the people of that same country.

**VOTCP in Turkish to Europe and Turkey,
March 31, 1982**

During the NATO meetings, the junta's Defense Minister Bayulken announced that his government supports the U.S. view against the peace proposals of the Soviet Union.

While this announcement was being made, two warships belonging to the U.S. 6th Fleet passed through the Turkish strait on 26 March and went to the Black Sea. The Soviet Union displayed a justified reaction in the face of this overt U.S. provocation. It harshly condemned the United States. It is evident that the existence of the U.S. war fleet can transform the Black Sea into a center of tension, like other regions.

However, a short while ago, in addition to a series of proposals, Soviet President Brezhnev also proposed to keep military fleets away from each other. As is known, the Turkish Communist Party [TCP] supported this proposal as well as all the other proposals as a necessity of Turkey's national interests, and especially demanded that the 6th Fleet stop polluting our territorial waters.

The latest 6th Fleet provocation, which aims to confront Turkey with its neighbors in the Black Sea, has clearly proved how right the TCP was in supporting the Soviet peace proposals. The fact that the provocation coincided with the eve of the talks between Turkey and the Soviet Union on the 3-year trade relations constitutes another proof of this. As can be seen, the course of the junta in the wake of U.S. imperialism is contrary to our country's national interests. The disgusting lies that the Soviet Union poses a threat to Turkey have actually been concocted in order to conceal the fact that U.S. imperialism is threatening the socialist countries and the national liberation movements.

What are the warships of the United States, which does not have an inch of shoreline on the Black Sea, doing in our territorial waters? This is a clear show of force for the benefit of the socialist countries. By slavishly bowing down to this aggressive policy of the United States, the junta is also dragging Turkey into tension and the danger of war.

VOTCP in Turkish to Europe and Turkey, November 9, 1982

The junta generals who assumed power through the bayonets, obtained through the same means, achieved the results they wanted in Sunday's Constitution referendum. The dictatorship of the collaborationist and monopolist bourgeoisie has been concealed behind the cover of the Constitution. The republic system has been replaced by the Evren dictatorship.

As the first results of the referendum began coming in, it was clear that the generals allowed 6 to 7 percent of no votes.

Our Radio in Turkish to Turkey, June 4, 1982

Comrades, the task of creating a strong anti-imperialist mass movement and a strong people's resistance against U.S. imperialism in Turkey is awaiting us in the coming period. It is clear that, above all, dependence on U.S. imperialism and NATO lies at the root of the deep problems currently facing our country. The U.S. imperialist policy of increasing tension and aggression also lies at the root of the dangers awaiting our country in the future.

As we have stated on numerous occasions, the junta would not have been able to intensify the pressure on our people to such an extent without the support of U.S. imperialists. The deployment of nuclear missiles in Turkey is the next item on the agenda after providing facilities to the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force by the junta. The junta is heading towards becoming the tool of U.S. imperialism in the region. It is taking steps toward militarizing industry at the cost of totally ruining the economy. It is establishing political and military relations with reactionary regimes in the Middle East and exacerbating the tension with Greece. It is spreading the process of monopolization and militarism. The junta is stamping its influence on the state. This constitutes the internal basis that pushes the country toward the adventurist goals of U.S. imperialism. In addition to transforming our country into a dangerous factor against peace, this situation also threatens our national security. ■

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